

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION 1 OF 2 VICE 1 OF 3)

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS:PARM

SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S PLENARY STATEMENT
DECEMBER 16, 1977 (SALT TWO-1557)

BEGIN TEXT.

- SEMENOV STATEMENT, DECEMBER 16, 1977

- I

RECENTLY THE USSR DELEGATION HAS PROVIDED EXTEN-
SIVE RATIONALE FOR THE SOVIET SIDE'S POSITION ON THE
REMAINING STILL UNAGREED QUESTIONS IN THE DRAFTS OF
THE TREATY BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. ON THE LIMITA-
TION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND THE PROTOCOL
THERE TO, AS WELL AS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
AND BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE
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LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE RECORD IS
BEFORE YOU AND THERE IS NO NEED TO REPEAT IT. THE BEST
WAY TO GET A PICTURE OF THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE
QUESTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION IS TO STUDY THIS RECORD
CAREFULLY.

BEARING IN MIND THE UPCOMING ANALYSIS IN THE

CAPITALS DURING THE WORKING RECESS, I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS BRIEFLY THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

THE QUESTIONS WHICH WILL REQUIRE PRIORITY ATTENTION ON THE PART OF THE DELEGATIONS IN THE FUTURE INCLUDE REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL--REGARDING A BAN ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS AND SLBMS. ESTABLISHMENT OF EFFECTIVE AND MEANINGFUL OBLIGATIONS AIMED AT BANNING FLIGHT-TESTS AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS AND SLBMS IS TO BE A NEW MAJOR STEP IN THE PROCESS OF CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, STRENGTHENING STRATEGIC STABILITY AND REDUCING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR.

SUCH ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH ARE RECORDED IN ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROTOCOL AND THE AGREED STATEMENTS THERETO.

I BELIEVE IT NECESSARY TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT REACHING AGREEMENT ON PROVISIONS CONCERNING FURTHER MEASURES FOR THE QUALITATIVE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF AGREED LIMITATIONS ON THE MODERNIZATION OF EXISTING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS, AS STATED IN THE OVERLAPPING FORMULATIONS
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OF THE DRAFT TEXTS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS AND ON CARRIERS OF SUCH MISSILES MUST OCCUPY A MAJOR PLACE IN THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO. IN ESSENCE THIS CONCERNS LIMITATIONS ON A NEW KIND OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPON WHOSE DEPLOYMENT ON A MASSIVE SCALE COULD HAVE EXTREMELY UNFAVORABLE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE STABILITY OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION. TO PREVENT SUCH A TURN OF EVENTS IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH AN APPROACH MUST BE CONSISTENTLY EMBODIED IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT UNDER PREPARATION, INCLUDING THOSE OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, AND ARTICLE VIII OF THE TREATY, AS WELL AS ARTICLE III OF THE PROTOCOL.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE

AGAIN THAT THE SOVIET SIDE CATEGORICALLY REJECTS THE PROVISION WHICH ENVISAGES A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR-ARMED AND NON-NUCLEAR-ARMED CRUISE MISSILES AS INCONSISTENT WITH EXISTING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES AND ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE.

ONE OF THE CENTRAL TASKS IN TERMS OF ENSURING THE VIABILITY OF THE DOCUMENT BEING WORKED OUT IS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON EFFECTIVE AND SPECIFIC MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE OBLIGATIONS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY UNDER NEGOTIATION THROUGH A

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THIRD STATE OR THIRD STATES, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER, AS WELL AS ON NON-TRANSFER OF THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS COVERED BY THE TREATY AND PROTOCOL THERETO TO OTHER STATES OR ANY RECIPIENT WHATSOEVER.

I WANT TO STRESS AGAIN THAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT CONCEIVE OF THE TREATY WITHOUT CLEAR-CUT OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE XII OF THE TREATY--ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER.

I ESPECIALLY WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE XI OF THE DRAFT TREATY--ON THE TIMING OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD BE IN EXCESS OF THE MAXIMUM NUMBERS BEING ESTABLISHED BY THE TREATY. ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET POSITION ON THIS QUESTION HAVE BEEN EXTENSIVELY PRESENTED AND I EMPHASIZE THEIR IMPORTANCE.

OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE FOR COMPLETING THE WORK ON
THE DRAFT TREATY IS RECONCILING THE POSITIONS REGARDING
ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, CONCERNING
THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES WITH RESPECT TO LIMITING
HEAVY BOMBERS. I BELIEVE THAT THE EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE
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OF VIEWS HELD ON THE RELEVANT QUESTIONS AND THE CON-
STRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ON THIS SCORE TABLED RECENTLY BY
THE SOVIET SIDE WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE
NECESSARY PROGRESS ON THIS RANGE OF QUESTIONS AFTER
RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT PRODUCTIVE WORK
WILL BE CONTINUED ON OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS, TOO,
WHICH ARE INVOLVED IN THE DOCUMENTS BEING PREPARED
AND ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE DELEGATIONS.

- II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE USSR DELEGATION NOTES THAT AS A RESULT OF THE
DISCUSSIONS HELD IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS,
UPDATED JOINT DRAFT TEXTS OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFEN-
SIVE ARMS AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO, AS WELL AS OF THE
JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES
FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRA-
TEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, HAVE BEEN PREPARED AS OF DECEM-
BER 16, 1977.

THUS, BOTH DELEGATIONS NOW HAVE COMMON DOCUMENTS
WHICH ACCURATELY REFLECT THE CURRENT STATUS AT THE
ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

THE JOINT DRAFT TEXTS INCLUDE AGREED PROVISIONS,
AS WELL AS THE PROPOSALS OF EACH SIDE WITH REGARD TO
SUBJECTS STILL UNDER NEGOTIATION.

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THE USSR DELEGATION CONFIRMS AD REFERENDUM THE
JOINT DRAFT TEXTS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED DOCUMENTS
AS OF DECEMBER 16, 1977, WHICH WERE PREPARED IN THE
DRAFTING GROUP.

I WANT TO EXPRESS MY THANKS TO THE SOVIET AND
U.S. REPRESENTATIVES IN THE DRAFTING GROUP FOR THE
USEFUL WORK THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT
UPON RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGA-
TIONS IN GENEVA OUR TASK WILL BE, BY JOINT EFFORTS,
TO WORK TOWARD REACHING FINAL AGREEMENT ON THE ENTIRE
JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO,
AS WELL AS ON THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND
BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS, ON THE
BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY AND STRICT COMPLIANCE
WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE U.S. SIDE,
TOO, TAKES A SIMILAR APPROACH.

I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND MY BEST WISHES TO THE
MEMBERS AND STAFF OF THE U.S. DELEGATION AND TO THEIR
FAMILIES.

UNTIL WE MEET AGAIN UPON RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIA-
TIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA IN JANUARY
1978. EARLE

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